

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 SALT T 00174 251720Z

41

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

ACDE-00 /026 W

----- 047077

P 251640Z APR 75

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2580

S E C R E T SALT TWO GENEVA 0174

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: PROPOSED REWORDING OF ARTICLE X.3 (SALT TWO-634)

1. DELEGATION REQUESTS AUTHORIZATION TO PROPOSE IN VERIFICATION
WORKING GROUP THE FOLLOWING REVISED WORDING OF ARTICLE X.3:

"3. EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES NOT TO USE ANY MEASURE OR PRACTICE,
INCLUDING MEASURES AND PRACTICES ASSOCIATED WITH TESTING AND
DEVELOPMENT, WHICH DELIBERATELY IMPEDES VERIFICATION BY
NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF
THIS AGREEMENT. THIS OBLIGATION SHALL NOT REQUIRE CHANGES IN
CURRENT CONSTRUCTION, ASSEMBLY, CONVERSION, OR OVERHAUL
PRACTICES."

THIS WOULD ADOPT SOVIET WORDING OF THE SECOND SENTENCE OF THE
PARAGRAPH, IN RETURN FOR SOVIET ACCEPTANCE OF REVISED U.S.
WORDING OF THE FIRST SENTENCE.

2. WE BELIEVE THAT THE REVISED PARAGRAPH AS A WHOLE WILL SERVE
BETTER THAN THE CURRENT DRAFT VERSION TO FULFILL U.S. OBJECTIVES
IN REGARD TO NOT IMPEDING VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS
FOR THE FOLLOWING REASONS:

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SALT T 00174 251720Z

A. IT EXPLICITLY EXTENDS THE BASIC OBLIGATION "NOT TO IMPEDE"

IN THE FIRST SENTENCE TO INCLUDE TESTING AND DEVELOPMENT PRACTICES, THUS ENCOMPASSING, E.G., TELEMETRY ENCRYPTION.

B. IT REMOVES TESTING FROM THE EXEMPTED PRACTICES IN THE SECOND SENTENCE.

C. IT AVOIDS COMMITTING THE U.S. NOT TO EMPLOY ANY PRACTICE THAT NONDELIBERATELY IMPEDES VERIFICATION.

3. WE BELIEVE THAT SOVIET CONSIDERATION OF THE REVISED FIRST SENTENCE DURING THE RECESS IS MORE LIKELY TO LEAD TO A USEFUL DISCUSSION AND COUNTERPROPOSAL AFTER THE RECESS THAN WOULD THEIR CONTINUED CONSIDERATION OF THE INITIAL U.S. DRAFT WORDING. THE NEW WORDING WILL MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE PRIMARY U.S. GOAL IN REGARD TO ARTICLE X.3 IS TO BROADEN THE PARTIES' OBLIGATION WITH REGARD TO MEASURES AND PRACTICES WHICH DELIBERATELY IMPEDE VERIFICATION (SPECIFICALLY TO INCLUDE TESTING), RATHER THAN TO SEEK INCLUSION OF NONDELIBERATE PRACTICES OR TO INSIST UPON THE RELATIVELY MINOR CHANGE IN THE SECOND SENTENCE OF THE PARAGRAPH.

4. "CONCEALMENT" IS DELETED FROM THE FIRST SENTENCE SO THAT THE SCOPE OF THE PROHIBITION WILL NOT BE LIMITED BY A NARROW INTERPRETATION OF THE MEANING OF THIS WORD. WE WOULD EXPECT THE DELETION OF "CONCEALMENT" TO ELICIT SOVIET ARGUMENTATION FOR ITS REINSERTION, AND THEREBY HELP ESTABLISH IN THE NEGOTIATING RECORD THE BROADER MEANING OF THE RUSSIAN WORD "MASKIROVKA", WHICH THE SOVIETS ALREADY HAVE SAID MEANS CONSIDERABLY MORE THAN CONCEALMENT, INCLUDING, E.G., DISGUISE. SIMILARLY, CONTINUED SOVIET ARGUMENTS FOR THE DELETION OF "TESTING" AND "DEVELOPMENT" ON THE GROUNDS THAT THEY ARE ENCOMPASSED IN "MEASURES" SHOULD ALSO HELP ESTABLISH A USEFUL NEGOTIATING RECORD.

5. AS REVISED THE NEW FIRST SENTENCE PROHIBITS ONLY THOSE PRACTICES WHICH DELIBERATELY IMPEDE VERIFICATION. PAST NEGOTIATING HISTORY MAKES IT UNLIKELY THAT THE SOVIETS WILL AGREE TO PROHIBITING NONDELIBERATE PRACTICES, AND WE BELIEVE THAT FURTHER ARGUMENTATION ON THIS POINT WOULD TEND TO DRAW DISCUSSION AWAY FROM THE OBJECTIVE OF EXPANDING THE MEANING OF CONCEALMENT AND OF EXTENDING THE OBLIGATION SO AS TO INCLUDE TESTING.

6. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT, UNDER EXISTING AGREEMENTS, BOTH SIDES HAVE RAISED NONDELIBERATE ACTIONS WHICH IMPEDE VERIFICATION
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 SALT T 00174 251720Z

IN THE SCC. IN THE EVENT THAT THE RECOMMENDATION OF THIS TELEGRAM IS ACCEPTED, DELEGATION BELIEVES IT IMPORTANT TO ENSURE THAT IN THE FUTURE IN THE SCC THE SOVIETS COULD NOT REJECT DISCUSSION OF MEASURES OR PRACTICES ON GROUNDS THAT THEY DID NOT IMPEDE DELIBERATELY. THIS CAN AND WOULD BE DONE IN THE NEGOTIATING RECORD.

7. THE JCS REPRESENTATIVE AGREES WITH THE PROPOSED REVISED

WORDING OF ARTICLE X.3 AS PRESENTED IN PARAGRAPH 1 ABOVE EXCEPT
HE WOULD DELETE THE WORD "DELIBERATELY". HIS REASONS ARE:

A. THAT IT WAS AT THE SOVIETS' INSISTENCE THAT THE WORD
"DELIBERATE" WAS INSERTED INTO THE INTERIM AGREEMENT AND THAT
WE SHOULD NOT PERPETUATE ITS USE UNLESS THEY CONTINUE TO INSIST
UPON IT.

. THAT WITHOUT THE WORD "DELIBERATE" IN THE AGREEMENT, IT WOULD
NOT BE NECESSARY FOR US TO ESTABLISH THAT AN ACTIVITY WAS INTENTIONAL
IN ORDER TO OBTAIN ITS CESSATION.

C. THAT THE DISADVANTAGE OF DROPPING THE WORD
"DELIBERATE" WHICH WAS IN THE INTERIM AGREEMENT AND AGAIN APPEARS
IN OUR CURRENT DRAFT IS OFFSET BY THE ADVANTAGES TO BE GAINED.
JOHNSON

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MEETING REPORTS, SALT (ARMS CONTROL), ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 25 APR 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GarlanWA
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975SALTT00174
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750146-0261
From: SALT TALKS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750416/aaaaaoxe.tel
Line Count: 128
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GarlanWA
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 18 JUL 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: WITHDRAWN <23 JUN 2003 by BoyleJA, 3.4.X9, (SALT II)>; RELEASED <18 JUL 2003 by GarlanWA>; APPROVED <21 JUL 2003 by GarlanWA>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PROPOSED REWORDING OF ARTICLE X.3 (SALT TWO-634)
TAGS: PARM
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006